

ANTIQUE STATUARY AND THE BYZANTINE BEHOLDER

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I

To adorn his new capital on the Bosphorus, Constantine the Great removed a multitude of antique statues from the principal cities of the Greek East.¹ These statues—those that were set up by Constantine as well as by others—continued to grace the streets and squares of Constantinople for the greater part of the Middle Ages. Their number gradually diminished as a result of fires, earthquakes, and vandalism; but an impressive collection of them was still in existence when the Crusaders captured Constantinople in 1204.

The fate of these statues has attracted some attention on the part of archaeologists interested in tracing the history of various masterpieces of ancient sculpture down to their ultimate disappearance.² Here, however, we shall be concerned not so much with the statues themselves as with the effect they produced upon the Byzantine spectator. How did he look upon these statues? Did he admire them and derive from them some inspiration for his own artistic creations? Was he, on the contrary, shocked by them, or, perhaps simply indifferent? The purpose of asking these questions is to set up a test case of the Byzantine attitudes towards antiquity. This inquiry offers a further advantage; for, whereas the common folk of Byzantium did not read Homer and Pindar, everyone—the butcher, the candlemaker, and the lower-class saint—could and did look at these statues. What is more, we have some inkling of what they thought of them.

By “antique statue” I mean any statue, whether Greek or Roman, manufactured before the fourth century A.D. Within this broad classification, which included statues of ancient rulers, philosophers, poets, mythological figures, as well as images of animals, I shall be concerned especially with statues of pagan divinities. The nature of the evidence will not, unfortunately, allow me, in most cases, to make a distinction between Hellenic, Hellenistic, and Roman statuary.

II

The deliberate assembling of ancient statues in Constantinople constitutes something of a paradox. We must not forget that paganism was very much of a live issue, not only in the fourth century, but until about the year 600. Statues of pagan divinities were, of course, an essential part in the celebration of pagan rites. The lives of the saints are full of references to the destruc-

¹ As St. Jerome so concisely put it, *Dedicatur Constantinopolis omnium paene urbium nuditate* (*Chronicon*, ed. Fotheringham [London, 1923]), p. 314₂₄.

² The only attempt at a full treatment of this subject is Christian Gottlob Heyne’s “Priscae artis opera quae Constantinopoli extitisse memorantur,” *Comment. Soc. Reg. Scient. Gotting., Class. hist. et philol.*, XI (1790–91), pp. 3–38. Most of the evidence is collected by J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig, 1868).

tion of pagan statues. A few examples must suffice. At Gaza there stood in the center of town a nude statue of Aphrodite which was the object of great veneration, especially on the part of women. When, in 402, Bishop Porphyry, surrounded by Christians bearing crosses, approached this statue, "the demon who inhabited the statue, being unable to contemplate the terrible sign, departed from the marble with great tumult, and, as he did so, he threw the statue down and broke it into many pieces."³ We may doubt that the collapse of the statue was altogether spontaneous. At the end of the fifth century a great number of idols, salvaged from the temple of Isis at Memphis, were concealed in a house behind a false wall. But their presence was detected by the Christians. The statues were loaded on twenty camels and taken to Alexandria where they were exposed to public ridicule and destroyed.⁴ In the middle of the sixth century we hear of St. Abramius destroying pagan idols near Lampsacus on the Hellespont, in a village that was totally pagan.⁵ At about the same time idols were subjected to popular derision by being hung in the streets of Antioch.⁶

These are a few examples chosen at random. We must also remember that, whereas some Christian thinkers rightly believed that the idols were inanimate, the general opinion prevalent at the time—as we have seen from the incident at Gaza—was that they were inhabited by maleficent demons.⁷ Granted this attitude, how are we to explain the fact that the first Christian Emperor used statues of pagan divinities to decorate Constantinople? How was it also that these statues remained for the most part unmolested for so many centuries?

It would be a mistake, I think, to suggest—as some modern scholars have done—that these statues were used simply for decoration. The answer is rather to be sought in the ambiguity of the religious policy pursued by Constantine's government. Nor must we hold Constantine himself responsible: the task of decorating the capital must have been entrusted to subordinate officials—the *curatores*—who were probably pagan, and they simply did the kind of job that was expected at the time.⁸ Besides, it has been proved that the foundation of Constantinople was accompanied by purely pagan rites.⁹ To a Christian apologist all of this was highly embarrassing; consequently, Eusebius, or whoever wrote the *Vita Constantini*, tried to explain the erection of pagan statues as part of a subtle policy of making fun of the old gods: "The pompous (*ορευώ*) statues of brass," he writes, ". . . . were exposed to view in all the public places of the imperial city: so that here a Pythian, there a Sminthian Apollo excited the contempt of the beholder: while the Delphic tripods were deposited in the Hippodrome and the Muses of Helicon in the palace. In

³ Marcus diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii*, chaps. 59–61, ed. Grégoire and Kugener (Paris, 1930), p. 47 ff.

⁴ *Vie de Sévère, Patrol. Orient.*, II, p. 27 ff.

⁵ *Acta SS. Abramii et Mariae, Acta Sanctorum*, March, vol. II, p. 933.

⁶ *Vita S. Symeonis junioris, Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. V, p. 371B.

⁷ Conversely, in the eyes of fourth-century Neoplatonists, idols were animated with divine presence: see E. R. Dodds, "Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXXVII (1947), p. 63 f.

⁸ So J. Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne*, II (Paris, 1911), p. 488 f.

⁹ A. Frolow, "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine," *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, CXXVII (1944), p. 61 ff.

short, the city which bore his name was everywhere filled with brazen statues of the most exquisite workmanship, which had been dedicated in every province, and which the deluded victims of superstition had long vainly honored as gods with numberless victims and burnt sacrifices, though now at length they learned to think rightly, when the emperor held up these very playthings to be the ridicule and the sport of all beholders.”¹⁰

In addition to the Delphic tripods, Constantine also erected in the Hippodrome the statues of the Dioscuri, whose temple had stood on that spot. On the agora of ancient Byzantium he went so far as to build a temple to the Fortuna of Rome, and to restore another one, dedicated to Cybele, the Mother of the Gods. The statue of Cybele was of venerable antiquity: allegedly it had been made by Jason’s companions.¹¹ In the Senate house Constantine erected statues of the Muses, taken from Mount Helicon, and in front of it he set up on stone pedestals the statues of Zeus of Dodona and Athene of Lindos. The Muses perished in the great conflagration of 404, caused by the followers of St. John Chrysostom, but the gods were unexpectedly preserved: a pagan miracle that gave comfort to the “more cultivated” ($\tauοις \chiαριεστέροις$) persons dwelling in the city, as Zosimus tells us.¹² Then, most important, there was the great bronze statue representing Apollo-Helios which Constantine set up in 328 as his own effigy on top of the porphyry column of the Forum; it wore a radiate crown, held a spear in its right hand and a globe in its left. Tradition affirmed that it had been brought from Phrygia.¹³

A great collection of statues was also assembled in the baths of Zeuxippus; these are known to us through a tedious poem by the Egyptian Christodorus, which forms Book II of the Palatine Anthology. In all, eighty statues are described, all of them antique, and most, if not all, of bronze. The greater number represented mythological heroes, but there were also nine statues of gods, many of poets, orators, philosophers, historians, and statesmen. Very few were of Roman origin: a Julius Caesar, a Pompey, an Apuleius, a Virgil, as well as a group of the pugilists Dares and Entellus borrowed from Book V of

¹⁰ *Vita Constantini*, III, 54, ed. Heikel, p. 101. Cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, II, 5, PG, 67, col. 945, who adds to the list of statues one of Pan which had allegedly been dedicated by the Spartan regent Pausanias after the Second Persian War: cf. K. Wernicke, art. “Pan” in Roscher’s *Lex. d. griech. u. röm. Mythol.*, III, col. 1408. For Constantine’s prohibition of $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\sigma\epsilon\varsigma \xi\alpha\varsigma\omega\nu$, see *Vita Const.*, II, 45; IV, 25.

¹¹ Zosimus, II, 31, ed. Mendelssohn (1887), p. 88f.

¹² *Id.*, V, 24, p. 246f.

¹³ *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn ed., p. 528; from Ilion in Phrygia (sic): Malalas, Bonn ed., p. 320; from Ilion or Heliopolis in Phrygia: Zonaras, Bonn ed., III, p. 18. According to another tradition, the statue was a work of Phidias and was brought from Athens: Leo Grammaticus, Bonn ed., p. 87; Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, VIII, 333, ed. Kiessling (1826), p. 295. The statue was thrown down by a storm in 1106, but its head was salvaged and deposited in the imperial palace: Tzetzes, *op. cit.*, VIII, 339. See esp. Th. Preger, “Konstantinos-Helios,” *Hermes*, XXXVI (1901), p. 457ff. The attempt on the part of I. Karayannopoulos to cast doubt on the pagan origin of the statue (“Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult,” *Historia*, V [1956], p. 341ff.) has been refuted by S. Kyriakides, “Ιστορικά σημειώματα,” *Ελληνικά*, XVII (1960), p. 219ff. The presence of a spear in addition to a globe in the hands of an Apollo-Helios need not be considered anomalous if the statue was of oriental origin; cf. the painting of the sun-god Jarhibol at Dura and, possibly, the representation of Apollo-Helios on a stele from Meonia, now at Leiden: both reproduced by E. H. Kantorowicz, “Gods in Uniform,” *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, CV/4 (1961) p. 368ff., figs. 25, 36.

the Aeneid. The baths of Zeuxippus were burnt down in 532 and the statues must have perished at the same time. When, in 1928, part of the baths was excavated, two inscribed statue bases were found. They bore the names of Hecuba and Aeschines, both mentioned by Christodorus.¹⁴

The importation of statues into Constantinople greatly diminished, but did not entirely cease, after the reign of Constantine. Individual statues were apparently brought in under Constantius II,¹⁵ Valentinian,¹⁶ and Theodosius II.¹⁷ A great collection was assembled in the palace of Lausus who was *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in the reign of Theodosius II (406–450) and was perhaps himself responsible for bringing it together. Its jewel was Phidias' chryselephantine statue of Zeus from Olympia. The removal of this masterpiece, which presumably occurred after the suppression of the Olympic festival in 394, is not to be regretted since the temple of Zeus at Olympia burnt down during the same reign. Besides the Zeus, the palace of Lausus also contained a Lindian Athene of emerald four cubits high, the work of Skyllis and Dipoinos; the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, made of white marble; the Samian Hera, the work of Lysippus and Boupalos; a winged Eros holding a bow, from Myndos; the Kairos of Lysippus, long-haired in front, bald in back; and many other statues.¹⁸ The palace of Lausus was burned down in 475 and all of these statues were destroyed.¹⁹ The last instance of the importation of antique statues into Constantinople that I have been able to find is of two horses from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, which were brought under Justinian.²⁰ It is, however, recorded that Constans II, during his infamous residence in Rome (663), despoiled that city of its ancient bronze ornaments, including even the copper roof tiles of the Pantheon, with a view to having them transferred to Constantinople. The loot was conveyed to Syracuse, but never reached its destination: it fell instead into the hands of the Arabs.²¹

The conflagrations that accompanied the frequent revolts of the fifth and sixth centuries took, as we have seen, a heavy toll of ancient statues. Even so, a great number of them remained. I would estimate their number during the "middle-Byzantine" period at probably over one hundred. We are told that

¹⁴ Second Report upon the Excavations Carried out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928 on Behalf of the British Academy (London, 1929), p. 18ff.

¹⁵ Statues of Perseus and Andromeda: *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Preger (Leipzig, 1901–07), II, p. 195, § 85.

¹⁶ A statue called Perichytes as well as one of a donkey, both in the Hippodrome: *ibid.*, I, p. 64, § 64; II, p. 192f., § 82. The Perichytes was nude except for a loincloth, and wore a helmet; it was stolen by western merchants some time between 935 and 959: *Vita S. Lucae Stylitae*, ed. A. Vogt, *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXVIII (1909), p. 39f.; ed. F. Vanderstuyf, *Patrol. Orient.*, XI (1915), p. 107ff. For other instances of the theft of statues, see *Script. orig. CP*, I, p. 50 (under Theodosius II); II, p. 253, § 112 (under Caesar Bardas).

¹⁷ Elephants at the Golden Gate (from Athens): *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 182, § 58; four horses in the Hippodrome, the same as are now on the façade of San Marco (from Chios): *ibid.*, p. 190, § 75.

¹⁸ Cedrenus, Bonn ed., I, p. 564.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 616; Zonaras, III, p. 130. Not in A.D. 462 as stated by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III/1 (Cambridge, 1940), p. 970. Cf. A. M. Schneider, "Brände in Konstantinopel," *BZ*, XLI (1941), p. 384.

²⁰ *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 165.

²¹ Paulus diaconus, *Hist. Longob.*, V, 11, 13, PL, 95, cols. 602, 604. Cf. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, VI (Oxford, 1916), p. 278f. We are not told specifically what the ancient ornaments of bronze were, but it is reasonable to assume that they included statues.

several were destroyed by the Emperor Maurice, apparently to counteract an outbreak of magical practices.²² Some more were broken by order of Leo III.²³ But apart from these and a few other isolated cases,²⁴ there is no record of a deliberate suppression of ancient statues by the Byzantine government. Their presence was accepted, and the popular tales that were woven round them aided their preservation.

III

Byzantine attitudes toward ancient statuary should be considered on two levels: the popular and the intellectual. I shall start with the first.

The popular attitude was based on the assumption that statues were animated. I have mentioned the widely prevalent belief of the early Christians that pagan statues were inhabited by demons. This belief, as interpreted by strict churchmen, dictated immediate action: the statues had to be destroyed. But many statues survived even so, and the demons within them underwent, as it were, a gradual change of personality. From being actively maleficent, they became vaguely sinister; the best thing to do was to leave them alone. Some statues became talismans and fulfilled a useful role by averting various calamities and minor nuisances: palladia fall within this category. Others came to be considered as the magical doubles of prominent men or even of entire nations.²⁵ In short, as the original significance of the statues was forgotten, a new "folkloristic" significance arose in the popular imagination.

The demons, of course, did not immediately surrender their powers, as a couple of examples will show. On the very day when the Emperor Maurice was assassinated in Constantinople (in 602), a calligrapher in Alexandria, returning home late at night after a party, chanced to pass in front of the temple of Tyche. To his amazement, the statues that were erected there slid down from their pedestals and, addressing him in a loud voice, described the Emperor's downfall. This intelligence was conveyed to the prefect of Egypt, who enjoined secrecy on the calligrapher. Sure enough, nine days later messengers arrived in Alexandria bringing the tragic news.²⁶ As every Byzantine knew, demons had the faculty of swift locomotion and were thus able to apprehend events that took place at a great distance. This faculty they often passed off as foreknowledge, a gift they did not possess.²⁷

Here is a somewhat different example taken from the *Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, a work of the ninth or tenth century. A woman in Constantinople, whose

²² *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 181, § 54 ("many statues" at Exakionion); p. 196, § 88 (statue of bull buried); p. 257, § 131 (statue of Tyche).

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 198, § 90.

²⁴ E.g. by the Caesar Bardas (864–66): *ibid.*, p. 184, § 61.

²⁵ See A. I. Kirpičnikov, "Čudesnyja statui v Konstantinopole," *Letopis' ist.-filol. obšč. pri Imp. Novoross. Univ.*, IV, *Vizant. otd.*, II (Odessa, 1894), p. 23 ff.; N. G. Polites, Τέλεσματα in Λαογραφικά σύμμεικτα, I (Athens, 1920), p. 48 ff.

²⁶ Theophylactus Simocatta, ed. de Boor (Leipzig, 1887), p. 309 ff.

²⁷ See, e.g., Athanasius, *Vita S. Antonii*, chap. 31 f., PG, 26, col. 889 ff.; John Damascene, *De fide orthodox.*, II, 4, PG, 94, col. 877A.

husband was given to dissipation, sought the help of a magician who performed over her certain demonic rites. The immediate objective was thereby achieved: the husband was brought to heel. But soon thereafter the woman began having disturbing dreams in which she saw herself pursued by Ethiopians and enormous black dogs. Then she saw herself standing in the Hippodrome, embracing the statues that were there, "urged by an impure desire of having intercourse with them." It took a saint to rid the poor woman of the demons.²⁸ We are not surprised that the nude statues of the Hippodrome should have been inhabited by demons of concupiscence; what is surprising is that practically no censure of them was expressed.

Our richest source of statue-lore is a confusing little book called *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικοί*, i.e. "Brief Historical Expositions," a kind of tourist's guidebook to the curiosities of Constantinople, compiled in the middle of the eighth century. At the end of the tenth century it was reworked and incorporated into a larger work, the *Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, or "Traditions of Constantinople," which has, for a long time, been incorrectly ascribed to one Georgius Codinus.²⁹ In both of its versions this guidebook is on a very low intellectual level, and may thus be regarded as representing the attitudes of the common man. A few extracts will show what the common man thought about ancient statues.

There was an antique statue purporting to represent Phidaleia, the wife of Byzas, mythical founder of Byzantium. When the statue was removed, the spot where it had stood trembled for a long time, and it required the intervention of St. Sabas to stop the earthquake.³⁰ Moral: Do not move statues. Leo III destroyed many ancient monuments. Why did he do so? Because he was stupid (*ἀλόγιστος*).³¹ Ardaburius, who was Master of Soldiers in the reign of Leo I, found a statue of Herodian (the grammarian?) and destroyed it in his anger; whereupon he discovered 133 talents of gold. He gave this treasure to the Emperor and, instead of being rewarded, was put to death.³² Moral: Do not destroy statues. Incidentally, we know better why Ardaburius was put to death.³³ Here is a curious story told in the first person: it refers to the years 711-713. The narrator, one Theodore, and his friend Himerius went to the Kynegion, an ancient theatre on what is now the Seraglio Point. There they found a short and broad statue representing a certain Maximian who had built the Kynegion. As they were contemplating it curiously, the statue fell from its pedestal and killed Himerius. Theodore, afraid of a charge of murder, took refuge in St. Sophia. An inquiry was instituted and Theodore was acquitted. A text of Demosthenes (sic) was found stating that the statue in question was fated to kill a prominent man. The Emperor Philippicus had the statue buried because "it did not admit of destruction." The moral is added by our author:

²⁸ PG, 111, col. 776ff.

²⁹ Both in *Script. orig. CP*, ed. Preger.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p. 20f., § 4 = II, p. 195, § 86.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 22, § 5d = II, p. 198, § 90.

³² *Ibid.*, I, p. 29, § 14 = II, p. 204, § 99.

³³ See J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), I, p. 320.

"As thou investigatest these matters truthfully, pray not to fall into temptation, and be on thy guard when thou contemplatest ancient statues, especially pagan ones."³⁴

Other statues fulfilled useful purposes. A statue of Aphrodite served to detect unchaste women until the sister of the Empress Sophia, wife of Justin II, was exposed in this fashion, and had the statue destroyed.³⁵ A statue having four horns on its head did the same service for deceived husbands.³⁶ Bronze figures of mosquitoes, bugs, fleas, and mice kept these noxious animals out of Constantinople, until Basil I broke the figures.³⁷ It was, in most cases, Apollonius of Tyana, who in the Byzantine world enjoyed the same reputation as a great sorcerer as Virgil did in the West, who had endowed such statues with their miraculous powers, both at Constantinople and at Antioch.³⁸ The rite whereby a statue received talismanic powers was known as *στοιχείωσις*: Psellus tells us how this was done, by the insertion into the statue's cavity of certain mineral and vegetable substances, vessels filled with sympathetic unguents, inscribed seals, incense, etc.³⁹

Psellus, perhaps the most brilliant of all Byzantine intellectuals, himself half-believed in this nonsense. It is not surprising, therefore, that emperors and patriarchs should have shared the same belief in the sympathetic properties of statues, especially ancient ones, although some of the stories I quote here may be apocryphal. Thus, Michael I (811–813) is said to have amputated the arms of a statue of Tyche with a view to making the populace powerless against imperial authority.⁴⁰ In the second quarter of the ninth century, the very learned Patriarch John the Grammarian averted a barbarian invasion by mutilating a three-headed bronze statue in the Hippodrome. While the patriarch recited incantations, three men armed with hammers struck simultaneously at the three heads of the statue: two of them were cut off, while the third did not fall to the ground. The same fate befell the three chiefs of the barbarian tribe: two were killed, the third was wounded but escaped.⁴¹ This incident is illustrated in the Madrid manuscript of Skylitzes (fig. 1).

³⁴ *Script. orig. CP*, I, p. 35f., § 28 = II, p. 163, § 24; Suidas, s.v. κυνήγιον, ed. Adler, III, p. 213.

³⁵ *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 185ff., § 65.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 271, § 179.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 221, § 24; p. 278, § 200.

³⁸ See J. Miller, "Zur Frage nach der Persönlichkeit des Apollonius von Tyana," *Philologus*, LI (1892), p. 581ff.; F. Nau in *Patrol. Syriaca*, II (1907), p. 1364ff.; *Catal. codd. astrol. graec.*, VII (1908) by F. Böll, p. 174f.

³⁹ *Epist. 187* in Sathas, *Biblioth. gr. med. aevi*, V (1876), p. 474. Cf. E. R. Dodds, *op. cit. (supra)*, note 7), p. 62, who suggests that Psellus drew these prescriptions from Proclus.

⁴⁰ *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 205, § 101.

⁴¹ Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., p. 155f.; Pseudo-Symeon, *ibid.*, p. 649f.; Cedrenus, II, p. 145f. The statue is described merely as ἀνδριάς τρισὶ διαμορφούμενος κεφαλαῖς (Hecate?); it could not, in any case, have been the Serpent Column as stated by L. Bréhier ("Un patriarche sorcier à Constantinople," *Rev. de l' Orient chrétien*, IX [1904], p. 267), since the Serpent Column, as we shall see (*infra*, note 119), retained its three heads until 1700. The identity of the barbarian tribe has caused a great deal of speculation: F. Uspenskij sees here an allusion to a Russian incursion into Byzantine territory before 842 ("Patriark Ioann VII Grammatik i Rus'-Dromity u Simeona Magistra," *Žurnal Minist. Narodn. Prosvetlenija* (Jan. 1890), p. 24f.), while Vasiliev, setting chronology aside, connects this legend with the Russian attack of 860 (*The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860* [Cambridge, Mass., 1946], p. 240f.).

Basil I removed a statue from the Basilica—it was of a seated man holding his chin, and therefore probably represented some ancient philosopher, although it was commonly believed to be that of Solomon—and buried it in the foundations of a church he was building, the Nea Ekklesia. The statue was changed to represent the Emperor who was thus figuratively offering himself in sacrifice (ῶστε θυσίαν ἔσαυτὸν τῷ τοιούτῳ κτίσματι καὶ θεῷ προσάγων).⁴² The motif of immuring a live person in the foundations of a building, to give it greater stability, is common in Greek folklore.⁴³

The dissolute Emperor Alexander, upon becoming impotent, was persuaded by magicians to clothe the statues in the Hippodrome with rich vestments and burn incense before them. The statue of a wild boar was believed to be the Emperor's talisman, and he proceeded to provide it with teeth and genitals which had been missing. For these impious acts he was stricken down by the Lord as a second Herod.⁴⁴ A few years later, the decapitation of a statue in Constantinople brought about the death of King Symeon of Bulgaria (927).⁴⁵

In the Forum of Constantine there stood two female statues of bronze. In the twelfth century one of them was known as the Roman, the other as the Hungarian. The Roman statue fell down, while the Hungarian remained upright. This was brought to the attention of Manuel Comnenus who was then fighting the Hungarians. He proceeded to set up the Roman statue, whereas he overturned the Hungarian one, hoping thereby to affect the fortunes of the war.⁴⁶

The Empress Euphrosyne, wife of Alexius Angelus, was addicted to magic and divination. She cut off the snout of the Calydonian boar in the Hippodrome (the same one that had been reconditioned by Alexander) and caused the colossal Hercules of Lysippus to be flogged, a fate, adds our historian, that the hero had not suffered at the hands of either Eurystheus or Omphale. The same Empress had the limbs and heads of other statues broken. What purpose she hoped to achieve thereby, we are not told.⁴⁷

The adventures of the wild boar were not yet over. In 1203 the Emperor Isaac Angelus had him removed from his base in the Hippodrome and taken to the palace, meaning in this way to check the wild fury of the mob. At the same time the populace broke to pieces the great Athena which stood outside the Senate House on the Forum of Constantine. She was 30 ft. high and had her right arm outstretched towards the south. By this gesture, it was thought, she was beckoning to the army of the Crusaders—the mob could not disting-

⁴² Leo Grammaticus, Bonn ed., p. 257f.; Pseudo-Symeon, p. 692. The statue is described in *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 171, § 40.

⁴³ See, e.g., L. Sainéan, "Les rites de la construction d'après la poésie populaire de l'Europe orientale," *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, XLV (1902), p. 359ff.; N. G. Polites, Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ. *Παραδόσεις*, II (Athens, 1904), p. 1113.

⁴⁴ *Vita Euthymii*, ed. de Boor (Berlin, 1888), p. 69; Theoph. Cont., p. 379.

⁴⁵ Theoph. Cont., p. 411f.

⁴⁶ Nicetas Choniates, Bonn ed., p. 196. Cf. L. Oeconomos, *La vie religieuse dans l'Empire byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges* (Paris, 1918), p. 91.

⁴⁷ Nicetas Choniates, p. 687f.; cf. Oeconomos, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

uish south from west—and for this act of treason she was destroyed.⁴⁸ But even the Crusaders were not immune to such fancies, for after capturing Constantinople, they took care to destroy the palladia of the city, “especially those which they learnt had been set up against their nation.”⁴⁹

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from the above evidence is that not only the ordinary Byzantine but even persons of high rank viewed ancient statuary through a mist of superstition. But this evidence also lends itself to a deeper interpretation, since it constitutes a chapter of a much-discussed topic, namely the transition from ancient Greek religion to modern Greek folklore. This transition is paralleled by the history of a word: *στοιχεῖον*, the Greek term for the astrological *elementum*, was, like the word *λώδιον*, commonly used in Byzantine times to designate a statue, more precisely a bewitched statue. This in turn has given rise to the modern Greek *στοιχείο*, the usual word for a ghost and in particular for a spirit attached to a specific place.⁵⁰

The superstitious re-interpretation of antique sculpture was paralleled by a Christian re-interpretation, although the latter cannot be documented quite as fully as the former. We have seen that a seated statue, probably that of a philosopher, was considered to represent Solomon. Another statue which held a staff with a serpent twined round it (Aesculapius?) was thought to be that of a bishop; Basil I playfully placed his finger in the serpent’s mouth and was bitten by a live serpent that was coiled inside the hollow one of bronze.⁵¹ An equestrian statue in the Forum Tauri which represented either Theodosius I or Bellerophon was regarded as that of Joshua.⁵² The statues of Adam and Eve, as they are called in our sources,⁵³ were probably also antique.

It is perhaps to such a Christian re-interpretation that we owe, in some cases, the re-use of antique reliefs in Byzantine churches. The oldest church of Trebizond, that of St. Anne, has over the entrance door a much weathered relief representing a flying (?) figure and a warrior upon which was inscribed the dedicatory inscription of the year 884–885 (fig. 2).⁵⁴ Evidently this relief was considered to be of particular significance to have been used in so prominent a manner. The church of Merbaka in the Argolis has classical

⁴⁸ Nicetas Choniates, p. 738 ff. On this statue, see R. J. H. Jenkins, “The Bronze Athena at Byzantium,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXVII (1947), p. 31 ff., who believes that it may have been the Promachos of Phidias.

⁴⁹ Nicetas Choniates, p. 848. Robert de Clari repeats, without a shade of disbelief, the popular tales concerning the statues of Constantinople: *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1924), p. 87 ff.

⁵⁰ The evolution of the word *στοιχεῖον* has been the subject of some controversy. In addition to the older studies by H. Diels and O. Lagercrantz, see esp. A. Delatte and Ch. Josserand, “Contribution à l’ étude de la démonologie byzantine,” *Mélanges Bidez* (= *Ann. de l’Inst. de phil. et d’hist. orient.*, II [1934]), p. 208 ff.; C. Blum, “The Meaning of *στοιχεῖον* and its Derivatives in the Byzantine Age,” *Eranos*, XLIV (1946), p. 315 ff. On the modern Greek *στοιχείο*, see esp. Polites, *Παραδόσεις* (as in note 43 *supra*), I, p. 250 ff.; II, p. 1051 ff.

⁵¹ Leo Grammaticus, p. 257; Pseudo-Symeon, p. 691 f.

⁵² *Script. orig. CP*, II, p. 176; Nicetas Choniates, pp. 849, 857 f. The identification of this statue raises some difficulties: cf. my remarks in *Art Bulletin*, XLI (1959), p. 355, note 31.

⁵³ *Script. orig. CP*, I, p. 21, § 5 = II, p. 196, § 87.

⁵⁴ Cf. G. Millet, “Les monastères et les églises de Trébizonde,” *Bull. de corr. hell.*, XIX (1895), p. 434; K. N. Papamichalopoulos, *Περιήγησις εἰς τὸν Πόντον* (Athens, 1903), p. 201.

reliefs conspicuously displayed on its north and south façades.⁵⁵ A more familiar example is provided by the relief of Hercules with the Erymanthian boar that decorates the west façade of San Marco; but it is difficult to say whether it was used as an allegory of Salvation,⁵⁶ or with an apotropaic intention.⁵⁷ However, there can be no doubt about the christianization of the sepulchral monument of the Barbii, fragments of which frame the entrance door to the cathedral of S. Giusto at Trieste; since one of the funerary busts has actually been provided with a halo.⁵⁸ What reason, other than convenience, dictated the ample re-use of classical carving in the church of Panagia Gorgoepikoos (Little Metropolis) at Athens,⁵⁹ I am unable to say; whether the old stones were regarded as being *στοιχειωμένα* or not, they were placed with no regard for their subject-matter except in such a manner as to form a symmetrical pattern (fig. 3).

IV

Next we should consider the attitude of the Byzantine intellectuals. Their statements on the topic of ancient statuary, unlike those of the common man, cannot be taken at face value; they can be evaluated only in the perspective of a long rhetorical tradition stretching back to antiquity. The ancients, we may remember, had not evolved anything that we would regard as a sophisticated form of artistic criticism. Their chief and practically only criterion of excellence was verisimilitude. The famous anecdotes concerning Myron's bronze cow which a live calf came to suck, the horse of Apelles at the sight of which live horses neighed, the grapes of Zeuxis that were pecked by live birds sufficiently illustrate this criterion. It is stated in the first sentence of the Elder Philostratus' *Imagines*: "Whosoever scorns painting is unjust to truth." As part of verisimilitude the ancients prized the ability to represent feelings or emotions (*ήθη*), which was considered to have been an invention of the Hellenistic age.⁶⁰ Even when Philostratus (the other Philostratus who wrote the Life of Apollonius) speaks of the importance of imagination (*phantasia*), which is wiser than *mimesis*, he means no more than the ability to visualize exactly somebody or something that one has not seen, as in the case of the gods.⁶¹ Typical of this attitude is the well-known epigram concerning the Cnidian Aphrodite: Aphrodite came to Cnidus to see her own statue, and having examined it, she exclaimed: "Where did Praxiteles see me naked?"⁶² He had not: he had *phantasia*.

⁵⁵ A. Struck, "Vier byzant. Kirchen der Argolis," *Athen. Mitt.*, XXXIV (1909), p. 208, fig. 129. Cf. Polites, Παραδόσεις, I, p. 73; II, p. 755.

⁵⁶ So E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV/2 (1933), p. 228.

⁵⁷ So O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice* (Washington, D. C., 1960), p. 134f.

⁵⁸ G. Caprin, *Trieste, Italia artistica*, No. 22 (Bergamo, 1923), fig. on p. 25.

⁵⁹ K. Michel and A. Struck, "Die mittelbyzantinischen Kirchen Athens," *Athen. Mitteilungen*, XXXI (1906), p. 281ff.; P. Steiner, "Antike Skulpturen an der Panagia Gorgoepikoos," *ibid.*, p. 325ff.

⁶⁰ This "invention" was ascribed to Aristides of Thebes, a contemporary of Apelles: Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, XXXV, 98.

⁶¹ *Vita Apollonii*, VI, 19.

⁶² *Anthol. Palat.*, XVI, 160, 162.

Countless students of rhetoric, laboring over their *ekphraseis*, reduced these artistic ideals to stale clichés. And when the *ekphrasis* came to be used to describe Christian subjects, its literary conventions, including the insistence on realism and the required comparison (*synkrisis*) with the famous artists of the past, were simply maintained. It is interesting to read the description of a painting representing the martyrdom of St. Euphemia by St. Asterius of Amaseia (ca. A.D. 400).⁶³ The picture was so good, "that you would think it was the work of Euphranor, or another one of the ancients who raised painting to such a high level, and made pictures that were almost animated." What Asterius admires in the scenes of martyrdom is their realism: the judge is certainly angry, "since art, when it so wishes, can indeed express anger even with inanimate matter"; the drops of blood seemed in truth to be trickling down from the martyr's mouth. Asterius adds that he used to admire, for its expression of conflicting emotions, a painting of Medea about to slaughter her children—he refers to the famous painting by Timomachus of Byzantium,⁶⁴ a replica of which, from Herculaneum, is at the Museo Nazionale of Naples. But now he has transferred his admiration to this painting of St. Euphemia, the author of which "has instilled feeling (*ἡθος*) into his colors, having mingled modesty with courage, two passions that are naturally contradictory."

This kind of appreciation was perhaps still appropriate to the relatively naturalistic art of the fourth century. It was, moreover, a standard ingredient of the *ekphrasis* genre, and as such, after passing through the hands of such practitioners as Libanius, Choricius, John of Gaza, etc., it was taken over by the Byzantines.

Now, the significant and, to us, astounding thing is that the Byzantines applied the same standard of criticism not only to ancient art, for which it had been invented, but also to their own art, *without any distinction*. Our own appreciation of Byzantine art stems largely from the fact that this art is not naturalistic; yet the Byzantines themselves, judging by their extant statements, regarded it as being highly naturalistic and as being directly in the tradition of Phidias, Apelles, and Zeuxis. When the Patriarch Photius described a mosaic of the Virgin in St. Sophia, he praised it as a "lifelike imitation" (ἡ ζωγράφος τέχνη οὕτως ἀκριβῶς εἰς φύσιν τὴν μίμησιν ἔστησε). The Virgin's lips "have been made flesh by the colors" and though still, they were not "incapable of speaking."⁶⁵ The same Patriarch, in describing a church pavement inlaid to represent various animals, says that it surpassed the art of Phidias, Parrhasius, Praxiteles, and Zeuxis who "are proved indeed to have been mere children in their art and makers of figments."⁶⁶ A certain painter Andrew, who flourished in the tenth century, is said to have been the equal of

⁶³ PG, 40, col. 333 ff.

⁶⁴ Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, No. 2122 ff. Asterius merely repeats the standard appreciation of the Medea: cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 2128, 2129.

⁶⁵ Φωτίου δομῆσαι, ed. B. Laourdas, 'Ελληνικά, Suppl. 12 (Thessaloniki, 1959), p. 167₁₃; *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople*, trans. by C. Mango (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), p. 290.

⁶⁶ Ed. Laourdas, p. 102; Bonn ed. (along with Georgius Codinus), p. 198; Mango trans., p. 187. Cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, Bonn ed., II, p. 749: the carving in St. Sophia surpassed that of Phidias.

Apelles, Agatharchus of Samos, Heracleides, and Philoines (Philinos?) of Byzantium⁶⁷—this list of names is, of course, merely a display of learning and the last two appear to be unknown even to modern scholarship. The Emperor Leo VI, commenting on a mosaic of Christ in the dome of a church, says that it appeared to be not a work of art, but Christ himself, who had momentarily stilled his lips.⁶⁸ An image of the Virgin in the same church appeared to be opening her lips and speaking to her Child, so much it gave the illusion of “not being devoid of breath” (οὔτως ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀμοιρα πνοῆς ὑπάρχει τὰ εἰκονίσματα).⁶⁹ Countless epigrams on Byzantine icons labored the same point: the image was always so lifelike that it appeared to be on the point of speaking.⁷⁰ Consider another example: in his obscure polemic with Theodore Metochites, Nicephorus Chumnos argues that in literary composition one ought to take as models the best authors of antiquity, just as the artist is guided by the works of Lysippus and Apelles.⁷¹ It would be naive to conclude from this that in the early fourteenth century Byzantine artists really had before them any of the antique masterpieces to which Chumnos alludes. Our learned author is merely using a literary *topos*.

To illustrate this fossilization of artistic criticism in the face of completely different artistic phenomena, I can do no better than to confront two epigrams, one ancient, the other Byzantine. The first, which is very short, concerns the Zeus of Olympia: “Either the god came down to earth from heaven to show his form to thee, O Phidias; or else it was thou who didst ascend to see the god.”⁷² The second epigram is by the fourteenth-century Byzantine author Nicephorus Callistus and it concerns the mosaic of Christ by the twelfth-century painter Eulalios in the church of the Holy Apostles: “Either Christ himself came down from heaven and showed the exact form of his features to him who had such expressive hands (*τῷ τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντι μᾶλλον εὐλάλους*: a pun), or else the famous Eulalios ascended into the sky itself and with his

⁶⁷ Theoph. Cont., p. 382.

⁶⁸ Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ πανυγηρικοὶ (sic) λόγοι, ed. Akakios (Athens, 1868), p. 245.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 246. Cf. p. 277 concerning an image of the Annunciation: εἴποις ἀν καὶ λογικῆς μὴ ἀμοιρεῖν τὰ εἰκονίσματα διαλέξεως, οὔτως ἐπὶ τὸν προσώπων φυσικὸν αὐτοῖς δι τεχνίτης χρῶμα καὶ ἥθος ἀνέθηκεν.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., John Mavropous, *Iohannis Euchairitorum metropolitae quae in cod. Vat. gr. 676 supersunt*, ed. Bollig and de Lagarde (Göttingen, 1882), p. 9, No. 14 (icon of St. John Chrysostom); No. 16 (icon of St. Basil): ἀλλ' εἰ λαλήσει (Ιῆν δοκεῖ γάρ καὶ τύπος); p. 10, No. 17 (icon of Three Hierarchs): γραφέντες Ιῆν δοκοῦσι καὶ λέγειν. *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, ed. Kurtz (Leipzig, 1903), p. 63, No. 101 (icon of prophet Elijah): ιδού γάρ αὐτὸς ἐνθάδε Ιῶν, ὡς βλέπεις; p. 75, No. 112 (icon of St. Michael being painted by the painter Myron): ἔμπνουν ἀναστήλωσον αὐτόν, εἰ δύνῃ. Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, ed. Miller, I (Paris, 1855), p. 3, No. III (Gabriel in the Annunciation): τί δὴ σιωπᾷς; τάχα γάρ Ιῶν ἐγράφης; p. 6, No. XII (Raising of Lazarus): ἀπαντα συνθεις εὐφυῶς δι λωγράφος | μόνην παρῆκε τὴν βοήν τοῦ δεσπότου; p. 21, No. XXXVII (icon of St. Mark): οὐ γάρ ὡς ἀπνους τύπος, | ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτι Ιῶν καὶ κινεῖται καὶ πνέει; p. 33, No. LXIX (icon of St. John Chrysostom): γραφεῖς πάλιν Ιῆς: τοῦτο τῆς εὔτεχνίας; p. 34, No. LXXVI (carving of St. George): ἔμπνους δι μάρτυς καὶ δοκῶν Ιῆν ἐκ λίθου, etc.

⁷¹ Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca*, III (Paris, 1831), p. 357: ἔστι γάρ πάντως καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων [the ancient authors] ἡμᾶς δρᾶν σπουδάσματα ... τρόπον γε τὸν ίσον ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὰς μορφὰς γράφοντες πρὸς πίνακας καὶ τύπους τοὺς πάλαι Λυσίππου τινὸς καὶ Ἀπελλοῦ, καὶ εἴ τις ἔτερος κατ' ἐκείνους ίώσας εἰκόνας, καὶ πνοῆς μόνης καὶ κινήσεως ἀπολειπομένας, ἦν μορφῶν καὶ γράφων. This passage is analyzed by I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels, 1962), p. 22.

⁷² *Anthol. Palat.*, XVI, 81.

skilled hand accurately delineated the appearance of Christ.”⁷³ The only difference lies in the prolixity of the Byzantine epigram.

Aesthetically, then, there appeared, to the Byzantines, to be no difference whatever between ancient and their own art; the only difference was one of subject matter. This distinction was important since an image was believed to contain somehow the *eidos* of its archetype. Of the skill of the ancients there could be no question; the pity of it was that they wasted it on such worthless subjects.

It is interesting that between the reign of Justinian and the middle of the twelfth century there does not appear to be a single *ekphrasis* devoted to a work of ancient art.⁷⁴ The only pertinent text that is known to me is contained in the “Description of the Statues and Tall Columns of Constantinople” by Constantine Rhodius, who wrote under Constantine VII,⁷⁵ i.e. at the very height of what modern scholars like to call the “Macedonian Renaissance.” The poet describes at some length the Seven Wonders of Constantinople, but these wonders are not the works of ancient statuary. They are instead the equestrian statue of Justinian, Constantine’s porphyry column, the Senate House also built by Constantine, a column bearing a cross, a weather vane of the time of Theodosius I, and the columns of Theodosius and Arcadius. It is in describing the Senate House that the poet dwells on two ancient works: a bronze door representing a Gigantomachy in relief that had originally belonged to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and the thirty-foot-high bronze statue of Athena which we have already mentioned and which Constantine Rhodius believed to have come from Lindos. Yet the poet’s remarks about these works of art are far from laudatory. He does admit that the reliefs on the door were lifelike: the fire that darted from the Giants’ eyes caused the spectators to tremble. But he goes on to add: “It was with such errors that the foolish race of Hellas was deceived as it accorded an evil worship to the abomination of vain impiety. But the mighty and wise Constantine brought it here to be a plaything for the city, a jest to children and a source of laughter to men.” This echoes the passage of Eusebius that we have quoted above. As for the bronze Athena, it was a monument of “Lindian error.” “For thus it was that the madmen of olden times made in vain the idol of Pallas.”⁷⁶ We are reminded of similar remarks that Constantine’s contemporary, Bishop Arethas of Caesarea, penned in the margins of his copy of Lucian.⁷⁷

⁷³ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Νικηφόρος Κάλλιστος Ζαυθόπουλος,” *BZ*, XI (1902), p. 46, No. 14; cf. N. Bees, “Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchungen über die Eulalios-Frage,” *Rep. für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXIX (1916), p. 101.

⁷⁴ Note, however, a mutilated epigram by Christophoros Mitylenaios (first half of the eleventh century) on a statue of Hercules in the suburban palace of Aretae: ed. Kurtz, p. 99, No. 143. As usual, the statue is pronounced to be lifelike (... χεὶρ ἡ τεχνίτου | τοῦ παντελῶς ἔμψυχον Ἡροκλῆν ξέσαι). On the palace of Aretae, see R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1950), pp. 137, 406, who fails to quote this text.

⁷⁵ Cf. G. Downey, “Constantine the Rhodian: His Life and Writings,” *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), p. 212 ff.

⁷⁶ E. Legrand, “Description des œuvres d’art et de l’église des Saints Apôtres de Constantinople,” *Rev. des ét. grecques*, IX (1896), p. 40f.

⁷⁷ *Scholia in Lucianum*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 76, 78ff., 218ff.

In the middle of the twelfth century, Constantine Manasses, who died as a bishop, wrote an *ekphrasis*, unfortunately mutilated, which describes an antique relief of the story of Odysseus and Polyphemus. He starts by saying that this relief attracted his attention while he was visiting a friend, a nobleman addicted to the study of letters. It was made of reddish stone, and may have looked something like the fragment of an oval sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale of Naples (fig. 4)⁷⁸ Manasses describes the scene: Odysseus offering a wineskin to the Cyclops, a hairy monster of savage appearance with an inflated belly; the companions of Odysseus lying slaughtered on the ground. Manasses dwells on the realism of the relief and compliments the artist for having used red stone to represent such a bloody scene.⁷⁹ There is nothing in this description that could not have been written a thousand years earlier; and if the author's name had not been preserved in the manuscript, scholars might well have attributed it to late antiquity.

It was not long thereafter that the antique statues of Constantinople met their doom. I have referred already to the destruction of the bronze Athena at the hands of a Byzantine mob in 1203. Once the city had fallen, most of the bronze statues were sent to the melting pot. Some were removed to the West: the four horses on the façade of San Marco and the colossus of Barletta survive as the only reminders of this spoliation. The historian Nicetas Choniates wrote a dirge on the statues that were then destroyed. He describes eighteen of them⁸⁰—surely only a small fraction of the total: the colossal Hera, whose head alone required four pairs of oxen to drag it away, the Hercules of Lysippus, a Paris giving the apple to Aphrodite, a Bellerophon astride the Pegasus, and so forth. Nicetas' lamentations form a curious, a deeply mediaeval document. The continuum linking him with antiquity is not broken: Nicetas displays a wealth of mythological allusions, quotes freely from Homer. A statue of Helen, her body humid even in bronze, her lips parted as if about to speak, moves him to his most rhapsodic flourishes. Her charms did not avail against the insensitive barbarians; it was in revenge of the burning of Troy that the descendants of Aeneas, i.e. the Venetians, delivered her to the flames.⁸¹ Although permeated with antique reminiscences, Nicetas' response to the statues is not antiquarian; it is rather allegorical, in places superstitious. With many of his Byzantine predecessors, he believes that a group representing an eagle killing a serpent had been set up with magical rites by Apollonius of Tyana to frighten snakes away from Constantinople; while another group representing an ox struggling with a crocodile suggests the desperate struggle between nations, in this case the Byzantines and the Latins.⁸²

A violent jolt was needed to produce a different attitude towards pagan antiquity; to make it appear as a distinct epoch, one whose greatness shone

⁷⁸ C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II (Berlin, 1890), p. 159f., No. 148 and pl. LIII.

⁷⁹ L. Sternbach, "Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte," *Jahreshefte d. Österr. Archäol. Inst.*, V (1902), Beiblatt, col. 83ff.

⁸⁰ P. 856ff. Cf. Edwin Pears, *The Fall of Constantinople, being the Story of the Fourth Crusade* (London 1885), p. 354f.

⁸¹ Nicetas Choniates, p. 863f.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 861f., 866ff.

even through its ruins. This interposition of "distance" or of a "projection plane," as Panofsky calls it,⁸³ is indeed what separates the Renaissance in its attitude towards antiquity from the Middle Ages. In Byzantium such an interposition was never achieved, although there are some signs that it could have been. It was precisely in the thirteenth century that the Byzantines of Nicaea began calling themselves Hellenes in the national sense.⁸⁴ There exists one document of this period which, although it is not directly pertinent to the topic of statuary, is nevertheless so illuminating that it deserves quoting. It is a letter of the Emperor Theodore II Lascaris and describes a visit that he paid to the ruins of Pergamon.

"The city," he says, "is full of theatres, grown old and decrepit with age, showing as through a glass their former splendor and the nobility of those who built them. For these things are full of Hellenic elevation of thought (<μεγαλονοίας) and constitute the image of that wisdom. Such things does the city show unto us, the descendants, reproaching us with the greatness of ancestral glory. Awesome are these compared to the buildings of today" He goes on to speak of the bridge spanning the river, the arches of which would have excited the admiration of Phidias. On either side of the big theatre stood round towers, "not the work of a modern hand, nor the invention of a modern mind, for their very sight fills one with astonishment." Among the ancient ruins were the hovels of the inhabitants which, by comparison, looked like mouse holes (<μυῶν τρῶγλαι). "The works of the dead," he concludes, "are more beautiful than those of the living."⁸⁵

One is reminded of Petrarch's similar experience when he visited Rome a hundred years later. But there is a difference: the significance of Theodore's attitude is that he contrasts the wretchedness of his age, not with the good old days of Justinian, but with the time of the Hellenes; he does not, however, condemn the intervening period. Petrarch took one further step, and a decisive one: he was the first to look upon the millennium separating himself from the decline of the Roman Empire as the Dark Ages.⁸⁶

Interest in the material remains of antiquity was not, perhaps, entirely abandoned when the Greek Empire returned to Constantinople. In a romance of the early fourteenth century, a mythical king is represented visiting, for recreation, "the buildings of the Hellenes" (*κτίσματα τῶν Ἑλλήνων*).⁸⁷ The

⁸³ *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm, 1960), p. 108.

⁸⁴ Cf. N. G. Polites, "Ἐλληνες ή 'Ρωμιοί; in *Λαογραφικά σύμμεικτα*, I (Athens, 1920), p. 126; M. A. Andreeva, *Očerk po kul'ture vizantijeskago dvora v XIII veke* (Prague, 1927), p. 146; K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren* (diss. Munich, 1954), p. 64ff.

⁸⁵ *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa (Florence, 1898), p. 107f. Cf. S. Antoniadis, "Sur une lettre de Théodore II Lascaris," *L'hellenisme contemporain*, VIII (1954), p. 356ff.

⁸⁶ See T.E. Mommsen, "Petrarch's Conception of the 'Dark Ages,'" *Speculum*, XVII (1942), p. 226ff.

⁸⁷ *Le roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoé*, ed. M. Pichard (Paris, 1956), p. 31, v. 857. Byzantine romances of chivalry, all of which appear to fall between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, show a marked interest in mythological representations. *Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe*, v. 419ff. describes an astral ceiling containing pictures of Cronos, Zeus in the guise of a "great emperor," Ares caressing Aphrodite, Athena seated on a throne, and the Graces. Carvings of love scenes with erotes decorated the Castle of Love in *Belthandros and Chrysantza*, v. 339ff. (ed. E. Kriaras, *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικὰ μυθιστορήματα* [Athens, 1955], p. 107f.). The Palace of Love in *Libistros and Rhodamne* contained an eros in green marble; the birth of Eros; the Judgment of Paris, and figures of erotes in stucco. The Silver

tireless poetaster Manuel Philes wrote an epigram on a representation of Kairos,⁸⁸ and another on a "painting by Apelles" which was said to represent Alexander's table.⁸⁹ Actually, there were very few antique remains in Constantinople at this time. A catalogue of surviving statuary, which seems to be fairly complete, is given in the early fifteenth century by Manuel Chrysoloras in a letter in which he compares the Old and the New Rome. This letter was written from the Old Rome, and Chrysoloras, who spent many years in Western Europe, had absorbed much of contemporary humanism. He looks at his country from the outside, and his remarks are therefore of particular interest. That there used to be many statues in Constantinople, he says, is shown by the remaining pedestals and the inscriptions upon them. Most of these were in the Hippodrome. Some statues he had seen himself which later disappeared. Of surviving antique statuary only two specimens are quoted: one, a reclining figure of marble, the other a set of reliefs at the Golden Gate, representing the Labors of Hercules and the Punishment of Prometheus. Why were there no more statues? Because Constantinople was built at a time when such things were neglected on account of religion, and men avoided the representation of idols. How indeed were they to make them, when in Rome, where statues existed from an earlier period, they were being at that very time destroyed? Statuary started in Greece and reached a wonderful development in Italy. The Byzantines, for their part, cultivated other arts, such as painting and mosaic.⁹⁰

To round off this sketchy survey of the attitude of Byzantine intellectuals, I should add that I know of no Byzantine collector of antiquities after the fifth century A.D. It has been stated that Theodore Metochites, the prime minister of Andronicus II, had such a collection in his palace, but this assertion is based on a misunderstood text.⁹¹ Contrast this with the West, where in the middle of the twelfth century a bishop of Winchester purchased pagan statues in Rome and despatched them home,⁹² not to mention the collection of classical sculpture made by Frederick II.⁹³

Castle in the same poem had statues of the twelve virtues, the twelve months, and the twelve forms of love: *Le roman de Libistros et Rhodamné*, ed. J. A. Lambert (née Van der Kolk) (Amsterdam, 1935), p. 70, v. 261ff.; p. 110, v. 938ff.; p. 116, v. 1017; p. 122, v. 1108ff. It has been assumed that these descriptions reflect the decoration of actual Byzantine palaces: so, e.g. Bury, *Romances of Chivalry on Greek Soil* (Oxford, 1911), p. 15; Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, IV (Athens, 1951), p. 303; but the problem ought to be re-examined with reference to western romances. The present state of research on these poems is summarized by M. I. Manoussacas, "Les romans byzantins de chevalerie," *Rev. des ét. byz.*, X (1953), p. 70ff.

⁸⁸ Ed. Miller, I, p. 32, No. LXVII. Cf. A. Muñoz, *Studi d'arte medioevale* (Rome, 1909), p. 8f.

⁸⁹ Ed. Miller, II, p. 267f. This was actually a mosaic of the *asarotos* type which decorated a bedroom in the Great Palace: a fuller description of it is given by Constantine Manasses, ed. Sternbach (as in note 79 *supra*), col. 74ff.

⁹⁰ PG, 156, col. 45ff.; German trans. by F. Grabler in *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, II (1954), p. 132ff.

⁹¹ R. Guillard, "Le palais de Théodore Métochite," *Rev. des ét. grecques*, XXXV (1922), pp. 85f., 93. The word πράγματα (in v. 214 of Metochites' poem), which Guillard translates as "antiquités," refers in reality to old houses which Metochites had purchased: I owe this correction to Prof. Ihor Ševčenko.

⁹² See J. B. Ross, "A Study of Twelfth-Century Interest in the Antiquities of Rome" in *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of J. W. Thompson* (Chicago, 1938), p. 308f.

⁹³ See E. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1928), p. 482f.; Ergänzungsband (Berlin, 1931), p. 210.

V

The last question I should like to ask is whether the classical statuary collected in Constantinople or surviving in other towns exerted any influence on Byzantine art. It is important to state this question in a precise manner. No one doubts that the amalgam which is usually termed Early Christian or Early Byzantine art had Graeco-Roman art as its chief ingredient. It is equally undeniable that Byzantine art proper went through certain periods, in particular those that are often called the Macedonian and Palaeologan Renaissances, when a classicizing style and classicizing motifs, such as personifications, were more in evidence than during other periods. The specific question we are asking is whether Byzantine artists, especially during those times of revival, sought their inspiration *directly* from antique statues and reliefs or whether the antique influence reached them through other, more indirect and contaminated channels.

A hundred years ago, Jules Labarte based his entire theory of the evolution of Byzantine art on the existence of antique statues. Ever since the foundation of Constantinople, he says, eastern artists had before them, as an unfailing guide, the masterpieces of ancient sculpture. The artistic revival under Justinian resulted from their study. The new school that arose after Iconoclasm attempted likewise to imitate the models of ancient art that still abounded in Constantinople. In the eleventh century decadence set in, but the presence of ancient masterpieces did not allow Byzantine artists to stray altogether from the right path. But then came the Latin occupation and the destruction of ancient statues. When the Greeks returned to Constantinople, they found themselves deprived of antique models. Is it surprising therefore that, from this time on, Byzantine art went from bad to worse?⁹⁴ Today no-one holds such extreme views. Yet the supposition—so natural to us today—that on occasion a Byzantine artist would copy a statue here or there, has not been entirely abandoned.⁹⁵ Can such a supposition be substantiated?

It is naturally in the realm of the plastic arts that one would begin to look for the possible influence of ancient statuary. But it is a matter of common knowledge that the Byzantines, as a rule, did not cultivate sculpture in the round or even high relief in stone.⁹⁶ If then ancient statues were not imitated

⁹⁴ *Histoire des arts industriels au moyen âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance*, I (Paris, 1864), pp. 31, 52, 96; III (1865), pp. 14, 33f.

⁹⁵ Thus, J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1923), p. 130, says that Byzantine artists "pouvaient puiser à pleines mains dans les chefs-d'œuvre de l'art antique." J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London, 1961), p. 7, speaks more cautiously of the antique statues "at more than one time providing a source of form from which sprang the streams of perennial hellenism to feed the Byzantine style."

⁹⁶ Sculpture in the round, after the sixth century, was used only for statues of emperors and occasionally members of the imperial family, but even that is confined to a few periods. The tradition continued down to the reign of Philippicus (711–13). Then, naturally enough, there was a break corresponding to the Iconoclastic period. At the very end of the eighth century statues were set up of Constantine VI and his mother, the Empress Irene. For several centuries thereafter no statues appear to have been made; our next example is of Andronicus I (1183–85), which was apparently planned but never set up. Eighty years later a group of sculpture commemorating the deliverance of Constantinople from the Latins was set up by Michael VIII. Cf. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires*, p. 131. This

by Byzantine artists in the same medium, we must extend our search to painting and the minor arts. Here we can make at once a preliminary observation. We are all familiar with late-mediaeval western representations of mythological subjects in which the Olympian gods and goddesses, the heroes of the Trojan war, etc., appear in the guise of Gothic knights and ladies. This phenomenon is not, on the whole, observable in Byzantium. There are, it is true, a few examples of ancient subjects in Byzantine garb, but they are widely scattered in time and do not appear to be characteristic of any given period: we may quote for the ninth century the Gregory manuscript in Milan, *Ambros. E. 49–50* (fig. 5),⁹⁷ for the eleventh the Gregory in Jerusalem, *Taphou 14* (fig. 6),⁹⁸ and another in the Pantaleimon monastery of Mount Athos, *cod. 6*,⁹⁹ for the fifteenth the gross sketches in the margin of the famous codex A of the Iliad, *Marc. gr. 454* (fig. 7).¹⁰⁰ Generally, however, when a Byzantine artist was called upon to depict a mythological subject, which happened rather seldom, or a pagan statue, which happened more often, especially in illustrations appended to the lives of saints, he was able to give such representations a more or less authentic look. The “antiquité romanesque” of the West was predicated upon an estrangement from antiquity such as happened, for example, in France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,¹⁰¹ but which did not happen in Byzantium.

Once this has been said, however, it should also be admitted that Byzantine art does not exhibit a single instance of such intimate contact with specific antique models as we find, though transposed in subject matter, in the portal of Reims cathedral or in the work of Nicolo Pisano. Modern scholars have nevertheless suggested that some Byzantine representations were modelled after ancient statues. Thus, Ainalov asserted that the personification of the city of Gibeon in the Joshua Roll (fig. 8) reproduced the Tyche of Antioch by the Hellenistic sculptor Eutychides, one replica of which exists in the Vatican (fig. 9).¹⁰² On inspection, the resemblance turns out to be rather slight; Ainalov could have found closer parallels. But now Prof. Weitzmann tells us that the city of Gibeon does not reproduce a Tyche type at all, but was adapted from the type of Io watched by Argus.¹⁰³

curve is quite suggestive: it is particularly interesting that no statues whatever were made during the so-called Macedonian Renaissance. As for the revival of sculpture in the twelfth century, we may also quote a text by Theodore Balsamon: commenting on canon 100 of the Quinisext Council, which forbade the representation of erotic subjects, he notes that in the houses of the rich there were not only pictures of this kind, but even human figures carved out of stucco: Rhalles and Potles, Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, II (Athens, 1852), p. 546.

⁹⁷ A. Grabar, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne* (Paris, 1943), pls. LXX, 1–2, LXXI, 2, LXXII, 1.

⁹⁸ K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951), figs. 2, 17, 20, 29, 33, 52, 59, 70, 74, 76–78, 89, 92.

⁹⁹ Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, II (Paris, 1926), p. 628 and figs. 304, 305; Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 22, 38, 39, 58, 68, 87.

¹⁰⁰ D. Comparetti, *Homeri Ilias cum scholiis. Cod. Venet. A, Marc. 454*, Codices graeci et latini, VI (Leiden, 1901), fols. 1^r–v, 4^r–v, 6^r–v, 8^v, 9^r–v.

¹⁰¹ Cf. J. Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français* (London, 1939), p. 292 ff.

¹⁰² *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art*, trans. by E. and S. Sobolevitch (New Brunswick, N. J., 1961), p. 134.

¹⁰³ *The Joshua Roll* (Princeton, 1948), p. 65.

Much has been made of the seated Hercules on an ivory casket at Xanten (fig. 10).¹⁰⁴ The pose of the hero, who is resting on a basket after having cleaned the Augean stables, corresponds exactly to that of the Lysippian colossus which, as we have seen, was in the Hippodrome of Constantinople until 1204. It cannot be denied that the ultimate model of the ivory was the statue of Lysippus, of which, unfortunately, no ancient replica has survived; yet it is equally clear that the carving was not copied directly from the statue. It is difficult to imagine that in the original, Hercules would have been represented beardless;¹⁰⁵ besides, the summary style of the carving suggests that it was copied from a small model, possibly a manuscript.¹⁰⁶ Similar observations could be made on other Byzantine representations that have been quoted in this connection, such as the group of Oedipus and the Sphinx on a glass bowl in the Treasury of San Marco (where the Sphinx has been turned into an angel and Oedipus made to sit on a throne);¹⁰⁷ the Olympian gods on a ninth- or tenth-century inkwell in the cathedral treasury of Padua;¹⁰⁸ or the nude figure of Life which the exemplary monk renounces in a manuscript of St. John Climacus, *Vatic. gr. 394* (fig. 11).¹⁰⁹ Each time we find a Byzantine representation of a classical subject, it appears, upon inspection, to be separated from its ultimate classical model by a long chain of transmission, usually in the minor arts.¹¹⁰

Since space does not allow me to substantiate this conclusion with the help of several other examples, I shall confine myself to one monument, the famous Menologium of Basil II in the Vatican Library, *cod. gr. 1613*. Out of the 430 miniatures contained in this manuscript, twenty include classical figures, either statues or reliefs, of which six are required by the text and fourteen have no obvious *raison d'être*.¹¹¹ The Vatican Menologium is not necessarily an original, but the corpus of illustrations it contains could not have been compiled before the beginning of the tenth century.¹¹² This brings us, therefore, once more to the Macedonian Renaissance: if Byzantine artists ever copied ancient sculpture, then this is surely the time when they might have done it.

When we examine the twenty representations of ancient sculpture in the Menologium, we realize that, with a few exceptions, they are all variants of

¹⁰⁴ H. Graeven, "Mittelalterliche Nachbildungen des Lysippischen Herakleskolosse," *Bonner Jahrb.*, CVIII/CIX (1902), p. 258 ff.; A. Furtwängler, *Der Herakles des Lysipp in Konstantinopel*, Sitzungsber. Bayr. Akad., Philos.-philol. Klasse (1902), p. 435 ff.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. F. P. Johnson, *Lysippus* (Durham, N. C., 1927), p. 195.

¹⁰⁶ So Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, p. 161.

¹⁰⁷ *Id.*, "The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art," *DOP*, 14 (1960), p. 50f.

¹⁰⁸ P. Toesca, "Cimeli bizantini," *L'Arte*, IX (1906), p. 35 f. The inkwell was made for a certain calligrapher Leo; the attempt to identify him with the ninth-century scholar Leo the Philosopher does not appear to be convincing (B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* [Paris, 1955], p. 39).

¹⁰⁹ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II/2 (Cambridge, 1925), p. 867; J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton, 1954), p. 50ff. and fig. 72.

¹¹⁰ The small group of Byzantine reliefs with mythological subjects, such as the Hercules in the Byzantine Museum of Athens (A. Xyngopoulos, "Βυζαντινὸν ἀνάγλυφον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους," 'Αρχαιολ. Εφημερίς [1927-28], p. 1 ff.) or the Pan in Berlin (K. Museen zu Berlin, O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche ... Bildwerke*, II [Berlin, 1911], p. 125, No. 2216), are so mediaeval in style that the nature of their immediate models can hardly be determined.

¹¹¹ See I. Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II," *DOP*, 16 (1962), p. 268.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 261 f.

two basic types. The first, which is used to decorate sarcophagi or troughs, consists of a row of nude standing figures, some holding hands, others grasping spears.¹¹³ They are skilfully rendered in grisaille, but there is no attempt at composition: the figures are simply strung together (figs. 12, 13, 14). A row of standing figures is, of course, a common type of sarcophagus decoration, but one would be hard put to indicate a specific classical model that the Byzantine miniaturists might have used here. The second type, used both for statues and to decorate sarcophagi, is a nude, standing figure holding a spear in one hand; the other hand may be free, but usually it holds an orb with a piece of drapery hanging below it (figs. 15, 16, 17).¹¹⁴ The ultimate model may have been an imperial statue, perhaps even that of Constantine-Helios on the porphyry column. But the model has been misunderstood: the hanging bit of drapery under the orb is derived from a fully or partially draped figure; and when we turn to a manuscript of St. Gregory in Paris (*Coislin* 239), we find that some of the pagan gods depicted therein, e.g. Isis (fig. 18), do hold orbs over one end of the garment that is thrown over the left forearm.¹¹⁵ The type used in the Vatican Menologium is therefore related to a type that was current in manuscript illumination.

Yet, the appearance of classical motifs in the Menologium is not due simply to servile copying. The miniatures were executed by eight painters. Now, if we take the fourteen instances of classical figures that are not required by the text, we discover that eight of them are the work of the same painter, Pantoleon by name, while the other painters account for only six. Obviously, then, Pantoleon had antiquarian interests. Let us compare two miniatures showing essentially the same composition: one, on p. 371, by Pantoleon, represents St. Isidore of Pelusium (fig. 19); the other, on p. 145, by the painter Symeon, represents St. John Chozebites (fig. 20). It would be rather farfetched to suggest that the picture of St. Isidore is accompanied by a statue because Isidore wrote some works, now lost, directed against the pagans. The inclusion of a classical motif into this and other miniatures is, in my opinion, equivalent to quotations from classical authors. We may push this analogy one step further: just as Byzantine writers usually derived their classical quotations not from complete texts of the classics but from some mediaeval Bartlett, so the painter Pantoleon took his "quotations" not directly from antique works of art, but from another mediaeval manuscript.

One may, I think, sum up the relation of the Byzantine renaissances to classical art in the same words that have been used to describe the Carolingian Renaissance: "... its artistic activities did not include major sculpture in stone; the models selected for imitation were as a rule productions of the minor arts and normally did not antedate the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.; and the classical values ... were salvaged but not 'reactivated.'"¹¹⁶

¹¹³ *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (cod. Vat. gr. 1613), *Codices e Vaticanis selecti VIII*, II (Turin, 1907), pp. 3, 146, 154.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 46 (nude figures with spear and shield), 59, 83, 105, 125, 202, 283, 371, 391, 406.

¹¹⁵ Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, fig. 88; cf. figs. 46, 72.

¹¹⁶ Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences*, p. 106.

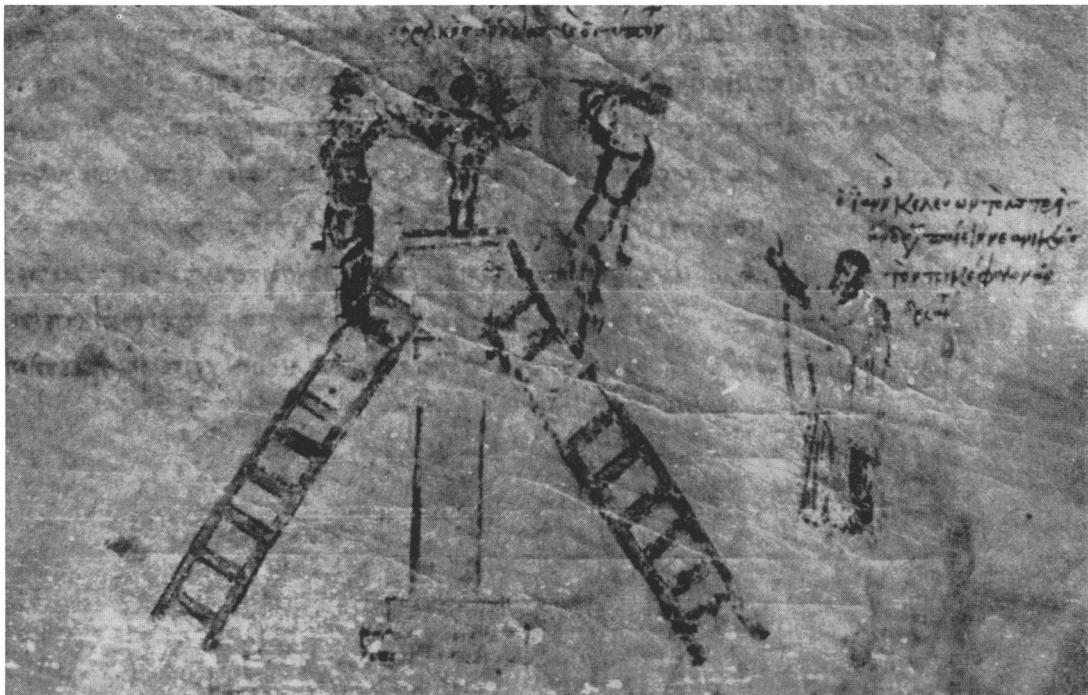
VI

When Constantinople fell to the Turks only two specimens of ancient sculpture appear to have been left in it. The first was a set of twelve reliefs at the Golden Gate representing the Labors of Hercules and other subjects—the same that had been mentioned by Chrysoloras. An unsuccessful attempt to acquire these reliefs was made by an English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe (1621–1628). They gradually fell to pieces and disappeared completely at the end of the eighteenth century.¹¹⁷ Some small fragments of them were excavated in 1927, the best being a head of Selene.¹¹⁸ The other specimen was the famous Serpent Column in the Hippodrome, made by the victorious Greeks after the battle of Plataea. Its preservation in Turkish times was due to the fact that it was considered a talisman against snakes. Its heads were broken off in 1700, perhaps by members of the German embassy.¹¹⁹ The mutilated trunk is thus the only survivor, still standing *in situ*, of one of the greatest collections of ancient sculpture ever assembled. Here ends our sad story—sad, because the Byzantines derived so little benefit from the statues that they took care to preserve. Byzantium fulfilled its historic role by transmitting to the more receptive West the Greek heritage on parchment and paper; it was unable to transmit in the same fashion and at the right time the heritage in bronze and marble.

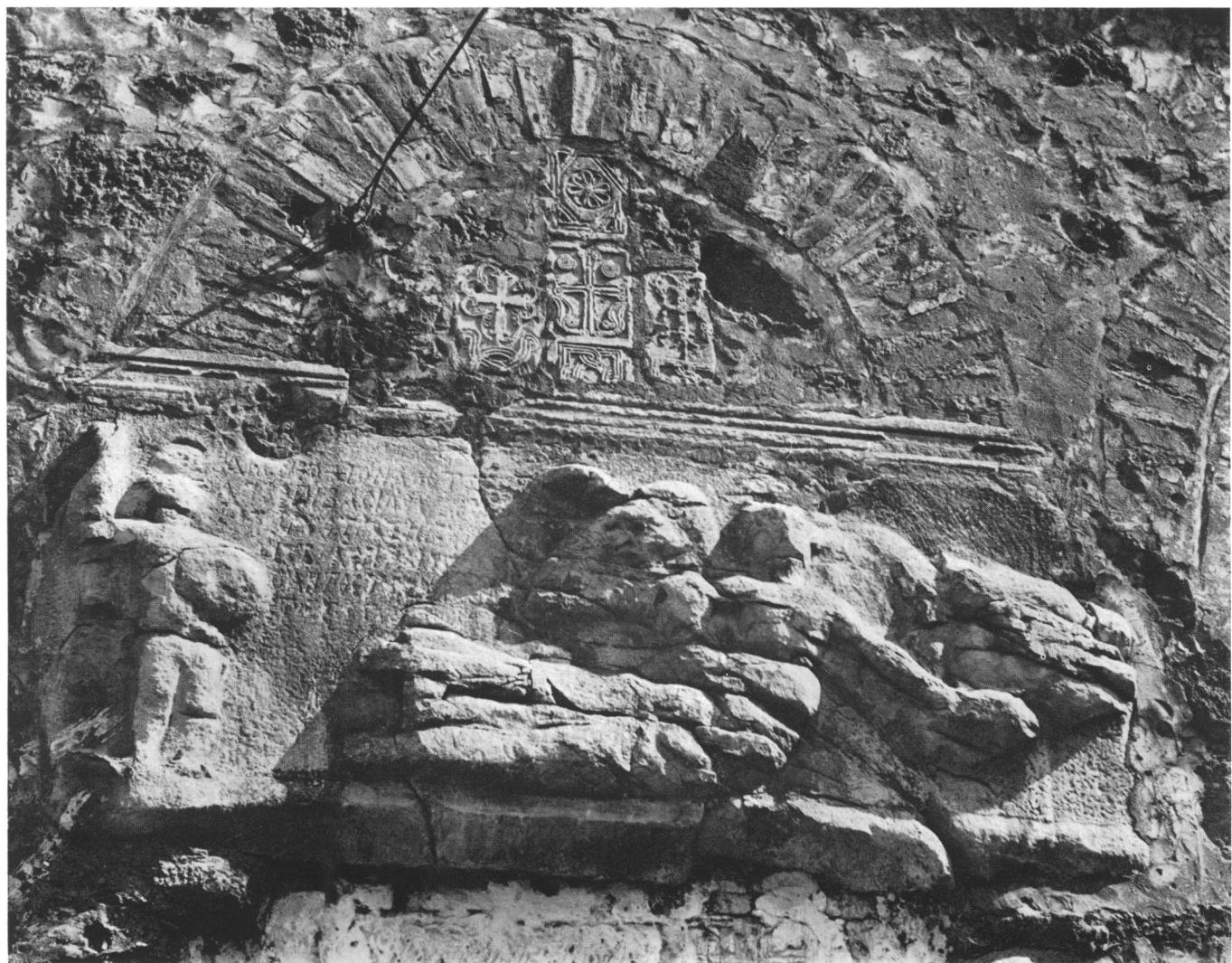
¹¹⁷ J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant* (Paris, 1918), pp. 82, 103, 132, 150, 156f., 186, 200.

¹¹⁸ Th. Macridy and S. Casson, "Excavations at the Golden Gate, Constantinople," *Archaeologia*, LXXXI (1931), p. 63ff. and pl. XL, fig. 2.

¹¹⁹ The lower jaw of one of the serpent's heads was apparently broken off by Mehmed II: see *Second Report upon the Excavations*, etc. (as in note 14 *supra*), p. 1ff. The exact date when all three heads disappeared has been in doubt: Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant*, p. 176, note 1, infers that this must have happened some time in the eighteenth century. See, however, *Voyages du Sr. A. de la Motraye*, I (The Hague, 1727), p. 278: "Au mois de Juin [1700] la colonne Serpentine, à laquelle il restoit encore deux têtes de ses Serpens cordelez ou entrelacez, les ayant perdues pendant une nuit obscure, les Turcs ne firent non plus aucune perquisition pour découvrir ceux qui pouvoient les avoir abatues ... Cependant les Francs soupçonnerent quelques-uns des gens de l'Ambassadeur d'Allemagne de les avoir rompues & emportées." Cf. also J. Pitton de Tournefort (who visited Constantinople in 1701), *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, II (Lyon, 1727), p. 228f.: "On dit que le Sultan Mourat avoit cassé la tête à un de ces serpens: la colonne fut renversée & les têtes des deux autres furent cassées en 1700, après la paix de Carlovitz. On ne sait ce qu'elles sont devenues, mais le reste a été relevé, & se trouve entre les obélisques," etc.



1. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional. MS 5-3 N-2 fol. 65r, Skylitzes



2. Trebizond, Church of St. Anne, South Façade. Relief over Entrance Door



3. Athens, Panagia Gorgoepikoos, from east



4. Naples, Museo Nazionale.
Sarcophagus



5. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana.
Cod. E. 49–50, p. 755



6. Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate.
Cod. Taphou 14, fol. 313r



7. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.
Cod. Marc. gr. 454, fol. 1v



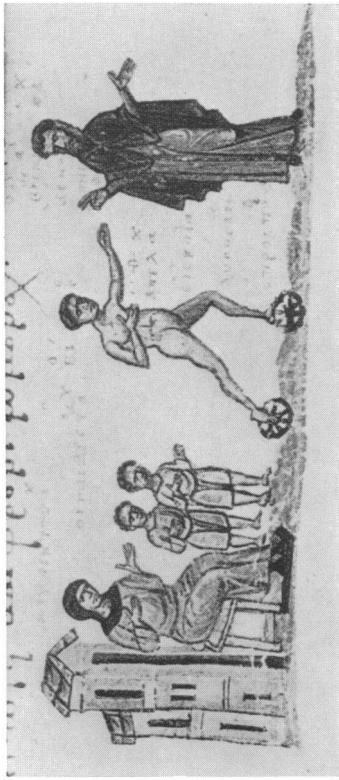
8. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana.
Cod. Palat. gr. 431, sheet XII



9. Rome, Vatican Museum, Tyche of Antioch



10. Xanten, St. Victor. Ivory Casket, detail



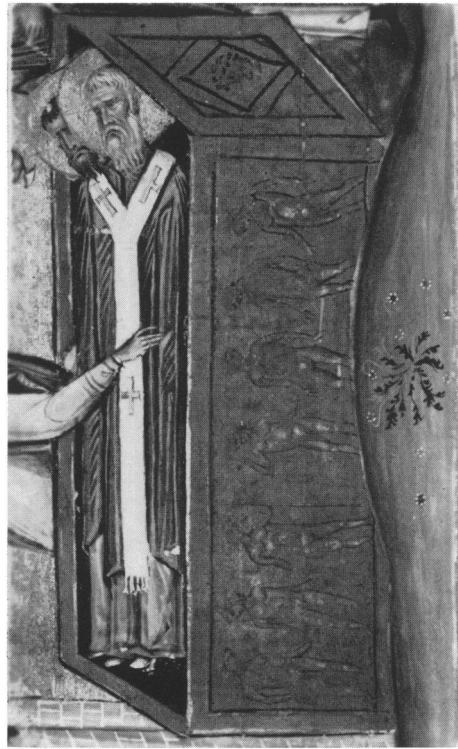
11. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 12, detail



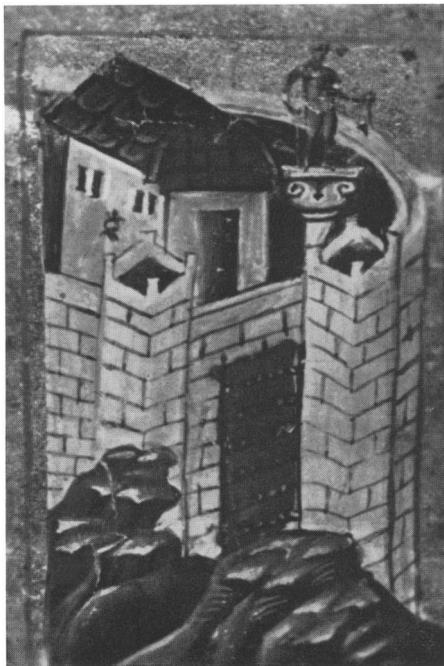
12. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana.
Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 3, detail (enlarged)



13. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana.
Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 146, detail (enlarged)



14. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana.
Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 154, detail (enlarged)



15. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 18, detail (enlarged)



16. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 371, detail (enlarged)



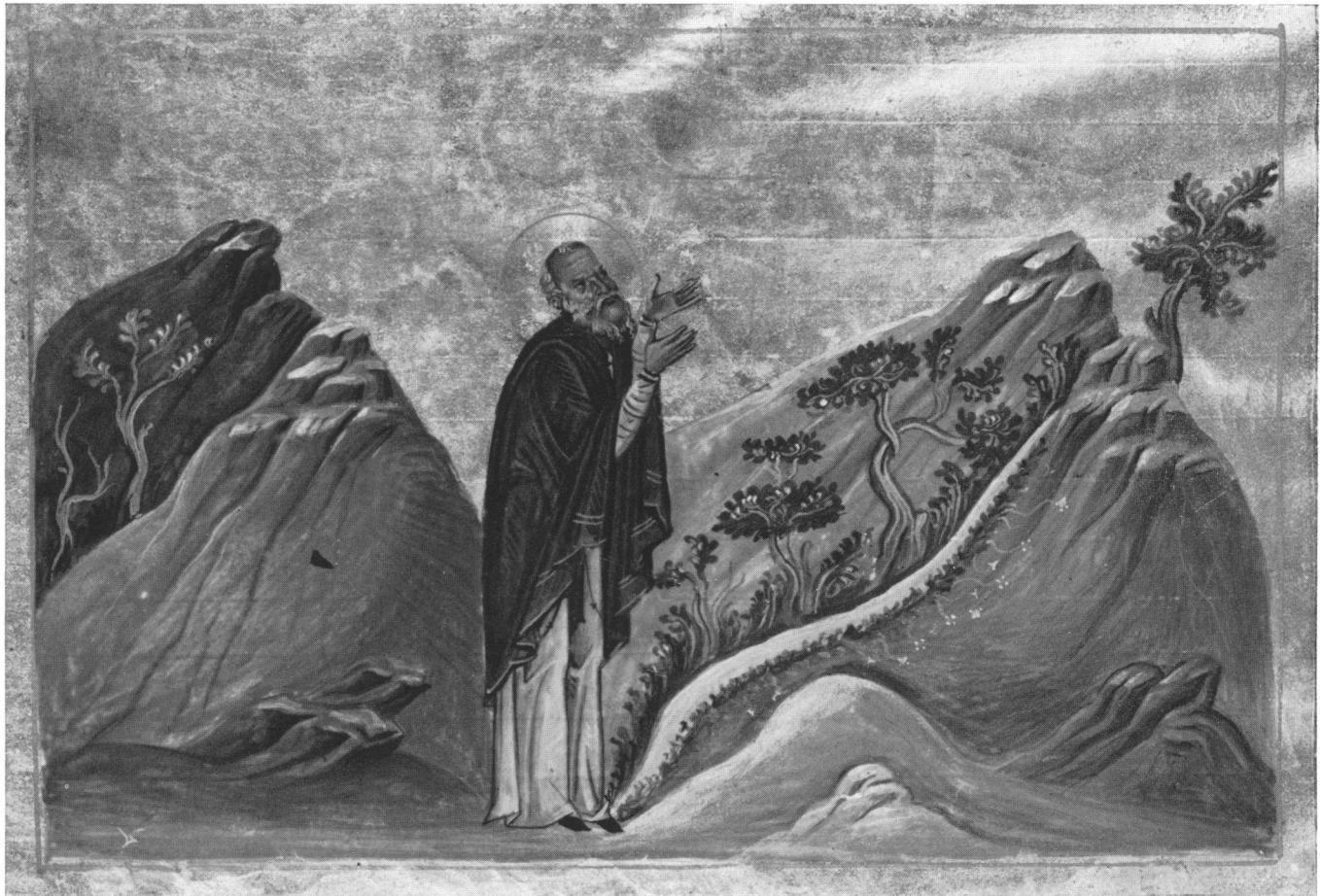
17. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 406, detail (enlarged)



18. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cod. Coislin 239, fol. 122v, detail



19. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 371



20. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 145